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## **On Functioning of Yakut Borrowings in the Language of the Evenki in the Amur Region (Sociolinguistic Aspect)**

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*This article is devoted to the lexical borrowings from the Sakha language that reflects the direct connections of the Evenki language with the Sakha language and shows its functioning in sociolinguistic aspect in the folklore texts of the Evenki in the Amur Region.*

*Keywords: Evenki language, Yakut language, borrowings, loan words, language contacts, folklore, sociolinguistic.*

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The material of this article is the folklore texts and the speech samples collected from Amur Evenki by N.Y. Bulatova, G.I. Varlamova and T.E. Andreeva. The subject of this research is lexical borrowings from Yakut language. The aim of this article is to define the level of development of Yakut loanwords in Evenki language based on text of Amur Evenki.

Amur Evenki dialects belong to the eastern dialect of Evenki language. G.M. Vasilevich noted that «the eastern dialect group is a patchwork of dialects, keeping traces of originating from the dialects of both Northern and Southern groups. Dialects which are common on the territory of one of the administrative and economic

centers have developed general vocabulary and some general forms. Inversely common dialects of the closed areas continue to keep some peculiarities, extinct in the dialects, which they have originated from» (Parnikova, 1962). The problem of interaction between languages, their partial mixing always interested scientists and are among the most complex and pressing problems of linguistics. Language contacts affect phonetics, morphology, lexical composition and interaction of language, according to the well-known linguists can determine the course and direction of evolutionary change. Evenki and Yakut's relationships have a long history, as the documents of XVII century indicate, mentioning

Yakut and Evenki. A.S. Parnikova writes in her paper «On the resettlement of Yakuts in XVII-XVIII centuries.»: «At the end of the XVII century some individual resettlement in Outer Manchuria are known. The petition in 1695 mentions the Yakuts of Baturusskaya volost<sup>1</sup> that of «away from yasak<sup>2</sup> collectors left their home and drove to the Chinese side ...» (Romanova et al, 1975: 18). Then she writes: «... So, at the end of XVII and at the beginning of the XVIII centuries, the Yakut population has spread not only in remote areas of Yakutia, and beyond it. In the XIX and early XX centuries Yakut settlement continued. Their movement was particularly intense due to the development of gold mining, with the opening of the port of Okhotsk, arrangements of the routes and the settlement in Amur region. However, most of the Yakut population remained within the territory of its settlement, established in XVII-XVIII centuries.» (Romanova et al, 1975: 19).

According to the historical data at the beginning of the twentieth century in the Amur region lived Oroqens, Manegry, Yakuts, Tungus (Evenki). In the western and north-western part of the Amur region, in the upper reaches of the Amur and Zeya rivers- Oroqens, in the north of the area – Yakuts, in the Upper Amur, Selemdzha, Bureya and Big Bira upstream – Manegry [Government Portal of the Amur region «Joining the Amur region to Russia in the second half XIX century – new page in the history of the region: «Muravyevsky century on the Amur,» section «colonization movement in Outer Manchuria in the second half of the XIX century.»]

According to the recollections of modern Amur Evenki, shortly before the 1917 revolution they were horsed and some of them had horses and deers in their farms, such as the ancestors of the Keptuke (Keptuken / Коптuko). These materials were collected by G.I. Varlamova

during the expedition in 70's in the Amur region. (Shcherbak, 2005)

In the Amur region Evenki populate three northern regions – Tynda, Zeya and Seleindzinski areas (Bulatova, 1987: 3-5).

Various forms of communication influenced the languages Evenki and Yakut. Bulatova N.Y. notes the significant influence of the Yakut lexics on the languages of Seleindzinski and Dzheltulakski Evenki (Bulatova, 1987: 85). In the speech samples collected by Andreeva T.E. and folklore materials of Seleindzinski Evenki collected by Bulatova N.Y., a large amount of Yakut borrowing can be grouped into the following lexical-semantic groups: Related Terminology (эһэкэ < yak. эбэkkэ grandfather, эвэкэ < yak. эбэkkэ grandmother, кутэт < yak. кутм<sup>3</sup>т son-in-law), the names of the cattle (инак < yak. ынах cow, огус < ојус bull), the name of the area of the settled way of life and economy (туннук < yak. туннук window, киптый < yak. кыптый scissors), words expressing abstract concepts (куранак < yak. кураанах emty, ирас < yak. ыраас clean, олок < yak. олох life, билир < yak. былыр in antiquity, in the old days), the names of animals, birds, and fish (кутуйак < yak. кутуйах mouse, бучујурас < yak. бочујурас grouse), etc.

Thus, the text «Илан некунел» recorded by A.S. Yakovleva in 1976 (Bulatova, 1987: 92), has such Yakut borrowing as билирги «earlier», сэһэн «story, legend,» кейан «nowise», эдэр «young», дурукин «all», саңийак «fur coat»:

«Эвэнки бичэ илэн хунад'ичи. Битчэвки этиркэн. Илан хунад'ин – илан охотникил. Орон-до ачин, пина-да ачин. Тар этиркэн – д'э, бэйуктэтчэттэн. Бэйуктэтчэвки, д'эмуливки, екунма-да эвки вара.

Тар билирги буба иттин (сэһэн) бичэ тари. Тар тэд'э-5у, ул'ок-ку, ци саран!

Д'э, тикэн бэйуктэтчэпки. Этиркэн халгарин энувки, этиркэн еһалин энувки,

эпки кейан вара бэйуҕмэ. Тар н'экэд'энэ, йаҕма туктиттэн: «д'олокйо-5у ичэд'эм», – гуннэ. Арай тар туктинэн, эдэр бэйэ тэбэтчэчэ. Едук-та хэгдиҕэ бэйэнд'э, едук-та гуд'эй ичэдэткэн, эвэди тэтичи бэйэ тэбэтчэчэ. Йаҕ ойомодун тэбэтчэчэ. Тар этиркэн ҕэлэнэ-ҕэлэнэ, даҕамача. Эвэнки эвэнкилэ он этэн даҕамара, оттон унтачи, саҕийакичи, дурукин эвэнки, тол'ко хэгдиҕэ-н'ун».

Translation: «The Evenki lived with his three daughters. Lives (poorly) old man. Three daughters (his) – Three hunters. No deer, no dog. That old man hunts and hunts (pity). Hunts, starves – kills nothing. This is a legend of the old land (country). Is it true, is it false, who knows! Well, he's hunting. The old man's feet hurt, the old man's eyes hurt, cannot kill a moose (wild animal). Doing so, he climbs up the hill, «At least I'll be able to see a wild sheep,» – he thinks. And when climbed up, (sees) the young man sitting there. Very huge man, very handsome appearance, dressed in the Evenki clothes. Sitting at the top of the hill. That old man, being afraid, approached. Evenki to Evenki can't but approach, because the fur boots, a fur coat, a hat, all is Evenki, but huge» (Bulatova, 1987:109).

Consider another example: the Appendix to the «Dictionary of the dzheltulakski dialect of Evenki in Amur region» (Dictionary of Zheltulaksky..., 2010) gives examples of speech and folklore materials of dzheltulaksky dialect native speakers recorded in the late 80's. The text represents the main language features of the dialect as close to spoken language as possible, according to G.I. Varlamova they are reproduced as close to the spoken language as possible. In samples of speech of Dzheltulakski Evenki the influence of the Yakut language is also visible, although only few people actually can speak it. The text «Ноноли бини» narrated by E.M. Malchakitov also allocates 9 Yakut borrowings:

«Аминми энинми Нёкоткар бичаль. Оломмаду бальдычал, Таанэ даадун, эле эмэчэль 1928 аннаныду. Нёкотыд баллыгыраскаллу веет! Би эду иэвча биим. Нонон эрмаль эвэнкиль Читинской округту числидьяритын. Калаканду нонон эвэды округ бича. Кэтэкэжун тармаль эвэнкиль оренчэль биитын. Нонон сомат эвэдыт мут посолькаду биин. Эткэмэль эвэнкиль лучалва аалчаль, лучал одавар. Нимнакарва нимнакандьяритын: Сиктэнэйвэ, Дёлонойво, Чинанай-адьярайва, манекунма. Пэнривкэду эвиденкитын. Мария Петровна сомат эвинкин, иктэденкин пэнривкаду. Эткэн иктэн ачин. Эдын мэнын онкин. Нунап Юльдульгервэ, ивульвэ савки, аннудаи. Олонкол нонон диктыкер бичаль. Сэхэн кэтэкэжур сэхэргэсчэми.

Бутунну эвэдачиҕкитын. Эвэдыт радиоли сэхэргенкитын, калаканду радио иландьярил аннаныльду биин. Орэтчэль эвэнкиль кэтэ бихитын. Мальчикитав прокопий Николаевич биин – партияльду авалинкин. Бутуннульбэ эвэнкильвэ оронди нульгиденкин. Тарнаи орондинюн бутуннувэ овкил. Сингилаев Николай Петрович судидьянкин, судья. Ликбесил биитын, татканкитын эгдыльвэ-да уакарва-да. Абрамова Анна Васильевна кэргэнын орикичи биин, Ленинградту оренча. Мария Петровна ген этырканын нан Ленинградту оренча. Тарнаи Дуганов бандит, туалдыана, эвэнкильвэ гача биин, орондитын туандави, дебгэльви, ерви урувдотын. Могочиду япоал биитын тэли. Тадук орэкчэль эвэнкильбэ каиду тэвритын. Сингилаев Николай Петровичча нан сутту бучаль».

Translation: «Past Life»

My father and my mother were Nekotkar. They were born on Olekma near Tyana and arrived here in 1928. Spoke excellent Yakut! I've grown up here. Previously, local Evenki were registered in Chita Region (national). There was a district in Kalakan (center district was Kalakan).

Many Evenki of that time learnt it. Everything was in Yakut language. Today's Evenks try to seek after Russians as it will make them Russians. (meaning that they speak Russian) Nimngakany nimngakanili: about Siktenee, Delaunay, about Chinanae – monster, from the tribe of mango. Played vargan. Maria Petrovna played very (good), banged (playing) in the vargan. Now she has no teeth (for vargan playing is important to have good front teeth). Her husband made them himself (vargans). She knows a about Yuldulger, about Ivul (tales), ask her. Olonkho (nimngakanov) like many dove was. There are a lot of stories to tell.

Everybody spoke Evenki. Evenki was spoken on the radio; they already had it in Kalakan in the 30's. There were a lot of educated (literate) Evenki. Malchekitov Procopius Nikolaevich was in the Party work. He inspected the Evenki on reindeers. Everything was done with the reindeers then. Sigilaev Nikolai Petrovich was the judge. There was a literacy campaign. Literacy classes were taught with both children and adults. Abramova Anna Vasilyevna's husband was educated, studied in Leningrad. In those days, Duganov gunman escaping, captured the Evenki to use reindeers to escape with food and everything else. The Japanese were in Mogochoa (train station). Then all educated (literate) Evenki were put in prison. Singilaev Nikolai Petrovich was also convicted» (Dictionary of Zheltulaksky., 2010).

A lot of foreign language elements have penetrated in Evenki languages throughout the long history of its existence. It is not a negative fact; on the contrary, it enriches the language, making it more concise and expressive. Penetrating the Evenki, foreign language lexical units were reformed in accordance with the internal laws of development, they have changed the composition of the sound according to its phonetic system, if they had sounds not typical for Evenk phonetic system. They acquired new meanings, etc. Only

as a result of such reforming were they established in the Evenki language. From this reasons we can at least distinguish two principal ones. Firstly, the need to express the new meanings. Secondly, the need to update the lexical system, replacing old, lost expressiveness lexical units with new, more expressive. In the first case, lexical borrowings have no synonyms; in the second synonyms appear as a result of the borrowing.

Basic vocabulary of these dialects is represented by general Evenki vocabulary. However, a significant number of the Evenki, Yakut and Russian borrowings are used in the language.

The texts show that the Yakut lexical borrowings were subjected to the typical Evenki language phonetic development: бутунну < yak. бутуннуу all, Бутуннульбэ < yak. Everybody, all, бутуннувэ < yak. in all, altogether; кэргэн < yak. кэргэн family, оренча < yak. у<sup>3</sup>рэннэ learned, кихалга < yak. кыһалҕа need, сэхэргенгин < yak. сэхэргээччи usually told. About 17 Yakut lexical borrowing were found in 7 texts.

Analysis of language materials of given dialects shows: 1) Yakut borrowing entered into most thematic groups of Evenki language, 2) vocabulary includes Evenki Yakut borrowing reflecting a settled life; 3) in the lexicon of the Evenki, Yakut borrowing keep their main meaning. Evenki use loan words in their speech semantically correct.

When deciding on the development of the borrowing it is necessary to consider the process of assimilation of foreign words both in speech and in language.

To determine the level of development of foreign language borrowing in the speech of Amur Evenki the following features are relevant: reproducibility of foreign words (in written language – it is the number of word usage in the analyzed works: 12 cases of word usage

of Yakut in the texts of Seleindzinsk Evenki, Dzheltulakski Evenki – 17 cases. All informants use Yakut borrowings in their speech); semantic assimilation of foreign words – Evenki know the meanings of the loan words in spoken language; in spoken and written language Evenki understand and correctly use foreign-language polysemantic word, Evenki take many foreign words for «their own», «Evenki».

2) To determine the level of assimilation of foreign words in the language the following indicators are relevant:

- consolidation of loan words in dictionaries;
- semantic and stylistic development of loan words;
- number of meanings of polysemantic word;
- the nature of the interpretation of meanings (expansion or contraction of the meaning);
- the presence or absence of a figurative sense;

- the presence or absence of usage labels, their characteristics.

Relevant characteristics of loan words from Yakut language of Amur Evenki are clearly seen on the above examples: they put on the Evenki-Russian dictionary, mastered semantically correct, figurative words may have no more than two meanings, changing of the semantics of a small part of the nouns is either reduced to narrowing the meaning of the word or to an additional meanings of the word, which leads to some expansion of semantics, or changing the meaning of the word.

The time the borrowing of foreign words is not critical to the process of assimilating it in speech and language. To the degree of perception of the loan words as «theirs» the time of borrowing is much more relevant. But according to linguists the analysis of the fate of many foreign-language borrowings suggests that the word must be used in spoken and written language for at least 100 years for the ordinary native speakers not to feel its foreignness.

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<sup>1</sup> Small rural district in old Russia.

<sup>2</sup> Turkic word for «tribute» that was used in Imperial Russia to designate fur tribute exacted from the indigenous peoples of Siberia.

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# **О функционировании якутских заимствований в языке эвенков Амурской области (социолингвистический аспект)**

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*Данная статья посвящена якутским лексическим заимствованиям, отражающим непосредственное контактирование эвенкийского языка с якутским, и их функционированию в социолингвистическом аспекте в фольклорных текстах эвенков Амурской области.*

*Ключевые слова: эвенкийский, якутский, заимствования, языковые контакты, фольклор, социолингвистический.*

*Работа выполнена в рамках исследований, финансируемых Красноярским краевым фондом поддержки научной и научно-технической деятельности, а также в рамках тематического плана СФУ по заданию Министерства образования и науки Российской Федерации.*

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